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HOW SHALL WAR BE UPROOTED? *

By CARL HEATH

THERE IS a tendency abroad to suppose that a new Europe can be made on the pattern of the old, new machinery in place of old machinery, but of the same or of a slightly improved pattern, new laws, new conventions, new Hague conferences of diplomats and jurists, with new armies of an international order, an international navy, and perhaps also international tax collectors!

All these things, in their proper place and time, may (or may *not*) prove serviceable, but are we not in some danger of missing the essentials in any genuine reconstruction which shall make war impossible? For if one thing is evident in this war, it surely is that armies and navies, international law, and Hague conventions have not of themselves succeeded in preventing war; that, indeed, the organization of military force has been a most fertile factor in producing war, whilst international law and The Hague conventions have been very largely ignored.

What we need most to do is to ask ourselves what essentially it is that has caused this war—war desired neither by the peoples of the allied nations nor by the peoples of the German States? How comes it that tens of millions of decent men throughout Europe, intent on no more aggressive activity than obtaining a fair living for their wives, their children, and themselves, nevertheless in a few short weeks are found marching in arms, millions against millions, to cut and hack and maim, mutilate and murder each other on battlefields a hundred miles long, while the harvests rot and the factories remain idle? There is only one answer. In every European country the democracies, for all their so-called democracy, are the merest pawns in the hands of little oligarchies of rulers, the statesmen and the diplomats who spend their lives in the entertaining game of diplomacy, in the dexterous management of foreign affairs.

Democracy is in the hands of the governing classes everywhere, but in nothing so completely as in these same "foreign affairs." Mr. Bernard Shaw's description of Sir Edward Grey stepping down to the House of Commons and announcing, "I arranged yesterday with the ambassador from Cocagne that England is to join his country in fighting Brobdingnag, so vote me a couple of hundred million, and off with you to the trenches," may be satire, but it is satire that is but too literally truth. In face of war we read history backwards, and the events for which we have now to pay in blood and misery are calmly placed before us in ponderous blue, yellow, and gray books only when criticism can in no way affect the situation, and when it has become impossible to even hear the other side.

If there is anything which this war should teach the peoples, it should be the one supreme necessity of breaking down the closed rings which usurp the government of foreign affairs. An open foreign policy and a real, effective control of the Foreign Minister and all his army of diplomatists, is one of the first essential factors of any permanent and effective change.

The diplomatic world will tell us readily enough that an open foreign policy would probably be dangerous. The tens of thousands of the slain of the last sixteen weeks—British, French, Belgian, German, Austrian, and Slav—may respond for the very actual danger of secrecy. Secrecy made it impossible for Englishmen to face Germans and discuss the grounds of dispute before war took the field—impossible for those innumerable forces of modern life to come into play and stay the oncoming tide of battle, murder, and sudden death; impossible for any religious, moral, scientific, or economic voices to be heard in effective opposition before the diplomatic game suddenly ended in the astounding blast of barbaric fury and call to battle of nine nations.

Sir Edward Grey publishes his White Book, and so does Dr. Bethmann-Hollweg, and M. Sazonoff, and M. Davignon, and, last but not least, M. Delcassé; but, although these statesmen be all honorable men, their documents cannot tell the truth as history will tell it, and if they did, it would still be history and not actual living fact, and dangerous fact, to be grappled with by all the best and most generous and most enlightened forces in each country. As it is, through many dangerous stages up to the final catastrophe, all remains shrouded in mystery until the trumpets blow and the peoples flock like sheep to be slaughtered.

There is no more pitiable fact in the politics of the world: but it is a fact which can be made to cease to be a fact. The democratic control of those interstate relations which we call foreign policy is the first need of the nations.

How is the democratic factor to be brought to bear upon foreign policy in any genuine sense? Obviously, a first requisite is the education of the people to a lively sense of the fact that the questions that arise between nations are not of a mysterious kind that can only be dealt with by a small class, a small hierarchy, of officials: that the tradition that this is so only arises from the fact that very largely the questions which diplomacy reserves to itself are those that were perhaps all-important as interstate questions in days gone by, but that the great questions which affect the lives of the masses of men and women today—questions of industry and commerce, questions of social and religious organization, and questions of intercommunication—are not settled by diplomats at all, but by modern men and women working in a modern atmosphere, with a tacit acknowledgment of international life, and who arrive at agreement by open discussion, rational compromise, and, where differences arise, by a fair hearing for all sides and a spirit of conciliation.

Secret diplomacy is not merely a tradition, trading on the facts of an interstate life of the past, but has become in our day a superstition, and a superstition which is dangerous, because linked with the control of another survival of the past—the use of physical violence between communities—as an argument to obtain one or the other's just or unjust ends. Secret diplomacy resting upon militarism, both irresponsible, both uncon-

* From a pamphlet entitled "Democracy and Foreign Policy," No. 3 of Pacifist Tracts for the Times.

trolled, both able to appeal at any moment to the unreasoning emotions and prejudices of the ignorant and unthinking, must be destroyed before an enlightened democracy can gain any lasting security against war. It is not enough for Mr. Asquith to call for the definite repudiation of militarism as the governing factor in the

relation of states. We want that in all conscience, but we want also, and more, the repudiation of that which gives militarism its head—the dangerous secrecy of the machinery of foreign relations, with its power to maintain us armed in peace and to plunge us at any time into the devilry of war.

BRIEF PEACE NOTES

ON NOVEMBER 12, Chancellor David Starr Jordan was received by President Wilson at the White House. Dr. Jordan presented to the President the resolutions adopted at the International Peace Congress, held at San Francisco, October 10-13, especially the section recommending the establishment of a voluntary conference of continuous mediation by the neutral nations.

. . . A Peace Calendar and Diary for 1916, containing "words of wisdom from wise men, past and present, against war and militarism," compiled by Dr. John J. Muldowney, has been published by Paul Elder & Co., publishers, 239 Grant avenue, San Francisco, Cal. This calendar is a helpful and practical means of spreading peace principles. The price postpaid is \$1.00 net and 75 cents to peace societies in lots of ten or more.

. . . November 25, Thanksgiving Day, was the 80th anniversary of the birth of Andrew Carnegie. Benjamin F. Trueblood's 68th birthday fell also upon that day.

. . . "How Far Should the Library Aid the Peace Movement and Similar Propaganda?" was the title of an address delivered by George F. Bowerman, librarian of the Public Library, Washington, D. C., before the American Library Association at its recent annual meeting. In discussing the question, how far the library should definitely promote the peace movement itself, he expressed the opinion that the peace advocate may hope much from what the library can do, believing as he did that the literature favorable to peace and international arbitration was much stronger than that opposed to it. "Librarians are also interested in peace," he said, "and should promote it as a matter of self-preservation. We are told that more than 70 per cent of the income of our own National Government is spent on wars, past and future. Can any one doubt that library appropriations would be larger if military and naval expenditures were smaller?" In closing his address, he said:

Even if the advocates of internationalism should at the close of this war see their dreams realized by the establishment of a supreme international tribunal and the stable development of a body of international law enacted by regularly recurring sessions of the Hague Peace Conference, by the organization of a League of Peace, a Federation of the World or a World State, the task of making any such plan work, of holding any such organization together when some crisis arises, or of securing the acceptance of the decrees of any such international tribunal, would be a difficult one. In order to be successful, behind the world organization and the international court there must be the sympathetic world spirit. This can only be secured by education, in which the library should have an increasingly large part.

. . . Six thousand school teachers passed with practical unanimity the following self-explanatory resolution,

which was introduced and moved by Dr. Charles M. Sheldon and seconded by President Edmund Stanley:

To His Excellency President Woodrow Wilson, and to the Honorable Senators and Representatives in Congress:

The Kansas State Teachers' Association, assembled in Topeka, six thousand strong, respectfully request and faithfully urge you that in all foreign relations you steadfastly adhere to the historic principles of our Government in favor of international peace and arbitration; and we solemnly protest against any legislation that will encourage the present rising tide of militarism after the European fashion.

(Signed)

LILLIAN SCOTT,

President.

D. A. ELLSWORTH,

Secretary.

TOPEKA, November 12, 1915.

. . . The Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, to be held in Washington December 27 to January 8 next, is to be one of the most important of gatherings. The congress proper is to be divided into nine main sections as follows: Anthropology; Astronomy, Meteorology, Seismology; Conservation of National Resources; Education; Engineering; International Law, Public Law, and Jurisprudence; Mining, Metallurgy; Economic Geology, Applied Chemistry; Public Health, Medical Science; Transportation, Commerce, Finance, and Taxation.

The main purpose of the congress is to increase the exchange of knowledge and bring about a better understanding of the ways in which the American Republics can work for the advancement of science, the increase of commercial and cultural Pan-American co-operation. The congress is to be held under the auspices of the Government of the United States, which has given \$50,000 toward its expenses. Impossible as it is to give any adequate survey of the importance of this project, we are especially encouraged by the prospects of having a decided advance in Pan-American understanding and friendly intercourse. There is to be organized, in connection with the congress, the American Institute of International Law. Composed as it will be of representatives of every one of the twenty-one American Republics, this alone will constitute an ample justification of the whole effort.

. . . The New York City branch of the Woman's Peace Party held a series of meetings, with lectures, on America's future foreign policy, from November 8 to 21. Among the speakers were: Prof. Edward B. Krehbiel, of Leland Stanford University; Norman Angell, Hamilton Holt, Prof. William I. Hull, of Swarthmore; George W. Nasmyth, and Dr. John Mez. Lectures were also held at the "Cooper Union Free Public Forum," at which Frederick C. Howe, Congressman Clyde H. Tavenner, Dr. David Starr Jordan, Dr. Toyokichi Iyenaga, and Max Eastman spoke. Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict was chairman of the organization committee.